

THE
OCCASIONAL
HISTORIAN.

NUMB. II. To be continued.

CONTAINING
INSTRUCTIONS
TO AN
ENGLISH BARONET
IN
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

CONCERNING

The *Craftsman's* pretended MEMOIRS of
Sir John Oldcastle, and the PLAN of his de-
sign'd Reflections upon King CHARLES
THE FIRST.

By Mr. E A R B E R T.

Timeo Danaos, & dona ferentes.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. WILFORD, at the *Three Flower-de-
Luces* behind the *Chapter-house* in *St. Paul's*
Church-yard. 1731. [Price 1 s.]

1910

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N U M B E R I I .

I N S T R U C T I O N S
T O A N
E N G L I S H B A R O N E T , &c.

S I R,



Y Lord *Clarendon*, in his History of the Great Rebellion, has very artificially laid the Plan how to begin another: He pursues those Measures in Theory, the Republicans have ever followed in Practice. Upon his Plan Mr. *Craftsman* proposes to carry on his future Memoirs of Sir *John Oldcastle*; as we may

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see all the Lineaments drawn out in his *Country Journal*, Feb. 20. Num. 242.

It was certainly a very wise and just Observation of Mr. *Hobbes*, That many of our *English* Gentry were poison'd by the *Greek* and *Roman* Histories. Plans of Government and Castles in the Air have the same Foundations, and the same Architects : They differ in this, That the latter are very harmless ; and the first very destructive to the Projectors, and to their Country often at the same time. We have seen often Experience, that the Sword has run away with what the Robe has projected ; and the first Inventers of Revolutions have out-liv'd themselves in the Ruin they have prepared for others. I have seen a great many of these Gentlemen moulder away in Discontent, or pine in their Rural Retirements, if flegmatick ; and if active, they have had the Satisfaction of being hang'd or beheaded by Instruments of their own raising up ; or they have decently retir'd with Mr. *Ker* to that common Receptacle of unfortunate Projectors, the *King's-Bench* ; where they enter upon a Government that's only settled in all other Com-motions, the same in a Republick or Monarchy ; and where the Doctrine of Passive Obedience was never undermin'd, never preach'd up, and never left in the lurch.

I may

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I may instance this in our late Revolution; the Republicans were shut out by a Monarchy; the Fanatics by the Governors leaving the outward Form of the Church standing; and only Mr. *Sidney* ran away from all the Labourers in that Scheme, with the Reward of his Toil. The Court of King *James*, when the King was Checkmated, stood ready for another Game to play, without the Trouble of clearing the Board: Courtiers, Bishops and Rooks, march'd in their Walks to an unskilful Spectator who understood not the Game, in the same Manner they did before, tho' directed by a different Hand; and to conclude all, the middle-temper'd Gentlemen who were for elective Kings, are equally excluded in Fact, by a new Set of Schematists, who are for absolute Passive Obedience to even Ministers themselves, more implicitly than ever any in those times, Mr. *Craftsman* calls hot, ever thought, practis'd, or maintain'd.

'Tis a very common Method to give a Man a Name first, and then to fix certain inseperable Marks and Signatures to that Name he shall never escape; as for Instance, I have been, and I believe am still called a *Jacobite*; or, to use Mr. * *Craftsman's* Expression, a profess'd *Nonjuror*; let us now examine what Marks or Signatures are given to me under this Denomination; why,

* *Answer to the Observations on the Craftsman's Writings.*

accord-

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according to them, I am a passive Creature to a certain Race of Men, and to a particular Family in whom I am never resolved to see any Faults : That I am so fond of this slavish Doctrine of Passive Obedience, that I love rather to be ruin'd by any particular Monarch, than sav'd : That I hate all Laws to restrain the Prince from doing Mischief, and am a sworn Enemy to Liberty and Property, because they are Mounds and Entrenchments to prevent a Prince from carrying off a Wife, or eating a Child, if his Lust or his Appetite want one or the other.

By the Advantage of these Prejudices, the Republicans advance very plausible Schemes ; they make Liberty, Law, and Property their own ; tho' I can easily prove, that I am a truer Friend to all, than ever Mr. *Craftsman* was or will be ; I have ventur'd more than all his Party put together.

I lay it down as an Axiom, the legal Constitution is Justice, and that no legal Alteration in a Constitution can be Injustice, because it is the Constitution still.

Therefore when a Man has a Plan in his Head, to change, amend, or subvert a Constitution by means known to be illegal, he is not a Patriot, nor for the Liberty and Property of the Subject : He is melting down one Society to new cast another :
And

And to say that Man is a Friend to his Country, is the same, that when a Man sees a House particularly model'd in the Possession of a settled Owner, he burns this House to the Ground, takes Possession, builds a-fresh upon the old Foundation, and still calls himself a Friend to the Prosperity, Liberty, and Property of the former House.

These are your Schematists, who from reflecting upon the Commonwealths of *Greece*, and the Expulsion of *Tarquin* from *Rome*, for doing what they would never scruple themselves every Day; prove practical Builders where they have no Right to lay Foundations; like some who cry *The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord*, when they design only the Destruction of all Religion.

To lead you, Sir, more directly into the *Craftsman's* Breast, Thoughts, and Designs, his *Country Journal*, Feb. 20, last, will shew the mortal Strokes he designs to give the *Stuarts*, to open a Way for the Justification of the Grand Rebellion, and the Consequence of that Rebellion; a wretched, hideous Republick, justly hated by all Men of Honour and Sense.

The Method is to set off with all the Advantages of Rhetorick the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, and to place the two following ones on the other Side by Way of Opposition, to a glorious, prosperous, and successful

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cessful Series of Years, in which she govern'd this Kingdom.

This is a very artful Insinuation to carry us off from a true View of the Discontents of the People: This true View my Lord *Clarendon* conceals from us, and the *Craftsman* treading in his Steps, hides the real Motives of that unnatural War. He has the Faction of *Henry VI.* in his Eye, and he is resolv'd to have a constant one of the same Complexion and Hue attending the *Stuarts* from their coming into *England* to their Downfall.

As to Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, it was a very Political one, and a Reign in which such an one as Mr. *Craftsman* must either have held his Tongue or been hang'd: And if he sets it up for a Reign of perfect Liberty, he is much mistaken; her prosperous Successes abroad were often more the Marks of * Wisdom than Justice, and she left nothing more to her Successors to perform for the Interest of *England*, than to have an Eye to the Scales of *Europe*, that the two great contending Powers thereof might keep 'em tolerably even; and that might have been done to this very Day, without running one Six-pence in Debt, if the Pacifick Measures of the *Stuarts* had not been overruled by a Faction in Town and Country, and not in the Court.

* *Machiavellian.*

Mr.

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Mr. *Craftsman* endeavours to perswade the World, that the Jealousies in King *James's* Reign, and the succeeding one, were owing to the Indignation of the People, for Loss of Honour to the *English* Nation, after the setting of that bright Star Queen *Elizabeth*. He begins his Paper with describing this terrible Eclipse, as tho' we never found Light till we grop'd our Way to our Swords, and retriev'd the Honour of the *English* Nation, by shedding the best Blood in it Fifty Years after. He begins like *Addison* in his *Cato*, The Clouds heavily bring on the Day, * *the Scene we are now going to open will appear vastly different from that which we have just clos'd.*--- Enter Thunder and Light'ning, *Instead of an uninterrupted pleasing HARMONY of Government, we shall meet with perpetual jarring Dissonance; instead of Success and Glory abroad, Disappointment and Contempt; instead of Satisfaction, Prosperity, and Union at home, Distress, and at last Civil War will present themselves to us in all their Horrors.*

Surely here is Panegyrick enough upon the Daughter of a Tyrant, and Satire in Proportion against the Son of an unfortunate mangled Queen; such are the noble disinterested Sentiments of our *Venetian* Patriot.

As for Harmony; there was such an un-

* See *Craftsman*, Feb. 20. 1730.

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interrupted Harmony in *Tiberius's* Reign, that as *Tacitus* informs us, all the Laws and Liberties of *Rome* were sunk in it: There is certainly Harmony when the Senate and the Prince echo to each other; when no Contradiction flows from Tongue or Pen; when the People make no Enquiry into the Justice of Executions, nor into Property: Such an Harmony surely Mr. *Craftsman*, as we may conjecture by his Writings, can never be fond of, when he is out of Play himself.

It was certainly a Reign of universal Harmony, when the Clergy flatter'd, the Commons ador'd, and humbly brought Pieces of Silver, and the Lords were Creatures. Mr. *Craftsman* is mistaken in the State of the Nation at that Time; the Walks of Liberty were not so spacious as they have been since; and there were dreadful Marks of Power in that Reign, tho' harmoniously carried on by Adulation before the People had found their Legs. The sanguinary Laws against *Papists* were made for Terror, and no body blames the present Age for letting them sleep, and, I hope, the Principles that stir'd up the legislative Fury are now likewise dormant, for I have not in my Time heard any *Papist* defend the deposing Doctrine of Kings, nor the temporal Jurisdiction of the *Pope* over this Realm; and when the Cause ceases, the bloody Effects ought to cease likewise; yet

yet those Laws, literally taken, are so harsh, that they grate every tender and compassionate Heart.

If Mr. *Craftsman* had liv'd in those Times, he might have heard bitter Execrations, when the Queen of *Scots* Head was struck off: I dare say, as there were many *Papists* in the Kingdom on that Side, who lost their Friends and Relations, the Harmony could not be so compleat at the numerous Executions of Priests and Jesuits; especially when Mens Bowels were cut up, and their privy Members cut off, with their Senses so quick and lively, as to be able to get upon their Legs and run away from the Hang-man. These legal Severities form'd an *Italian* Proverb, in *Boccalini's* Time, *Aculei Inglesti, the English Torture*, see *Cent. 1. Advice 6.* and for the Honour of the *English* Nation our Translators have left it out, tho' I have restor'd it, out of a due Regard to the Harmony of a Reign, that gave birth to so famous a Proverb, especially when I consider these Foreigners had Inquisitions and Racks of their own.

* Queen *Elizabeth's* Hints to *Davison* and Sir *Amy Pawlet*, give too much Reason to suspect, that *Leicester's* Advice had made some Impressions upon her, who constantly advis'd the giving her dear *Sister* an *Italian* Pill; and this had been worse

* See *Cambden.*

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than establishing that extraordinary Court, in which that unfortunate Princess was arraign'd and condemn'd.

An harmonious Reign may, in the Opinion of Mr. *Craftsman*, * *be a certain period of Time, in which Ministers of State can hang their Enemies without Contradiction, and I will do Mr. Craftsman the Justice to allow, that when he was in the Ministry, there was a perfect Harmony in all their Counsels, except a few Formalities in which he was concern'd on the harsher Side of the Question: He was no sooner out, than instead of an uninterrupted pleasing Harmony of Government, we met with a perpetual carping Dissonance; instead of Success and Glory abroad, Disappointment and Contempt; instead of Satisfaction, Prosperity and Union at home, Discontent, Distress, &c.* This puts me in Mind of a Story an old Cavalier told me in his Time: 'A Clerk in the Cursitors Office, who
' was never noted for the least Disaffection
' to Church and State; and who only smil'd,
' when *Bastwick*, *Prynne* and *Burton* had
' their Ears cut off; carried on his Intrepidity thro' all the Civil Wars; he neither sigh'd for the Miseries of his Country, nor
' groan'd at the Insolence of Fanatick Rage;
' his Countenance was narrowly watch'd
' when the King was beheaded, and none
' could perceive it chang'd or turn'd pale;

* See *Craftsman*, Feb. 20. 1730.

‘ at last to try him, a Friend at Dinner
‘ told him, *Oliver Cromwel* had given Or-
‘ ders for retrenching the Fees of that Office,
‘ his Knife drop’d ; his Hands trembled, and
‘ his Countenance chang’d, and with the
‘ Spirit of a Man who almost lov’d his Coun-
‘ try, he cried out, What ! are they come to
‘ FUNDAMENTALS, it is time then to stir.’
I would ask Mr. *Craftsman*, if it was not a
fundamental Breach of Honour, when his
lorded ‘Squire ran away with 20000 *l.* of
his Master’s Money, and I would know
whether he has yet fundamentally restor’d
one Penny.

Dear Sir, if Men would come first to
private Justice, I might then expect sound-
hearted Patriots ; ‘tis monstrous overtop-
ping to build publick Justice upon the nar-
row Bottom of personal Covetousness and
Rapine.

However, to return to Queen *Elizabeth*’s
harmonious Reign, we shall find the Plan
of Liberty far from being finished in her
Time.

Her Proclamations had shrewd Marks
of arbitrary Power, particularly when she
inflicted Penalties, even Banishment, upon
her own Subjects, without Trial or Act of
Parliament.

In the Year 1560, she issued a Proclama-
tion, that Anabaptists, Foreigners or na-
tural born People of the Land, should de-
part the Kingdom, under Pain of Loss of
Goods

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Goods and Imprisonment. *See Camb. Eliz. P. 52.*

If King *James* suspended the penal Laws in Favour of Liberty of Conscience, he offended on the merciful Side. But if this Queen rais'd a Persecution against Conscience, and determin'd by Vertue of a Proclamation, upon the Goods, Lands, and Liberty of the Subjects; it was rather an Instance of her Power than her Lenity. Banishment out of the Dominions, is not in any Prince's Power to do, by Strictness of the Law of Nations, and at home it is another Name for Imprisonment; and Mr. *Craftsman* would take it very unkindly, to have Mr. *Francklyn* by a Proclamation banish'd from *Covent-Garden* to *Carlisle*.

To imprison the Lady *Katherine Grey* in the Tower, for marrying with the Earl of *Hertford*, and confining her Husband, a Peer, in the same Place, and bringing him afterwards to a Trial in the Court of *Star-Chamber*, where he was grievously fin'd, and imprison'd nine Years for ravishing his own Wife, and getting her with Child: Had these Things been transacted in any succeeding Reign, they might have been look'd upon as arbitrary: This harmonious Sentence *Cambden* cries out against; in short, the poor Lady, after several Years Imprisonment, died in the Tower, without Trial and Sentence, kept there by the discretionary Power of that Queen, who was a

Srtanger

Stranger to *Habeas Corpus's*, and other Privileges granted by milder Reigns, which, *Jacobite* as I am called, I love so dearly, that I am only griev'd to the Heart when I find them slur'd.

The Imprisonment likewise of *John Hales*, for delivering his Opinion as a Scholar, was surely a great Restraint upon common Sense. See *Cambden*, P. 68.

Many of her Proceedings in the Affair of the Queen of *Scots*, have by some been thought arbitrary, both in respect to the Laws of the Land, and to the Laws of Nations. The Marriage of one of her Subjects with a Princess of the Blood, was a new Crime generated out of Politicks; and if it was a Crime in a Subject, it would be none in the Queen of *Scots*, who was an independent Princess; and therefore, under the local Allegiance of Queen *Elizabeth*, was accountable only for Breaches of the Peace, to be used as an Invader and a Prisoner of War: With what Pretence then could she make the Bishop of *Ross*, an acknowledged Ambassador from the Queen of *Scots*, a Prisoner? I cannot so absolutely admire the Harmony of a Reign, attended with so much clashing against the Law of Nations. In the whole Affair of the Duke of *Norfolk's* with the Queen of *Scots*; there were manifest Signs of trepanning: No wise and impartial Man will dispute, that *Leicester* drew

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drew the Duke into a Scheme of Marriage to ruin both, and his pretended Confusion in his Sickness was only a Feint.

I observe, that Trepanning is as unfair and arbitrary a Transaction, as hanging without Evidence; 'tis against the Law of Nature for the same Person to tempt and punish. Both to pervert and to cut off those whom you have perverted, has a near Resemblance with Works of Darkness. To sound Intentions, may be allowable; but for a Minister to bring those Intentions into Actions, is ripening Mischief very unnaturally, and is contrary to the Protection every Subject may claim as his proper Right.

If any Man reads the succeeding Trial of the Duke of *Norfolk*, who is the least vers'd in the known Methods of Trial in latter Ages, he will find that the Privileges of *Englishmen*, and the Strictness of Law have been more carefully regarded, since: A Trial so loose in this Age would have been ridicul'd by the whole Nation.

It look'd as if his Blood was to be taken before he was heard; and that his Accusers were endued with as steady a Triumph, as those who tried *Mary Queen of Scots*, or the pretended Court of Justice that sat upon King *Charles the First*. The Faces of his Enemies were turn'd harmoniously for that End, and it was an odd Formality, to

turn

turn the Edge of the Ax from him, when he was brought up to his Trial, when the Edge of Revenge was pointed fully towards him.

The Means us'd to prepare Evidence, and fix Treason upon him, was only to corroborate a Charge, tho' principal in Fact, very weak in Law : If Love was Treason, the Duke was a great Traitor ; but surely it was a very odd Sight to see so great an Assembly sit with all the Forms of Justice, upon a poor Sacrifice to female Jealousy, and a Woman's vindictive Fury ; when perhaps not one of those noble Peers, but had found it their own Case in their youthful Years.

The Statute of Treasons of *Edward III.* had intirely omitted just and honourable Love, and therefore the Duke was not indicted *contra Formam Statuti*, because it would not bear ; therefore Accumulative Treason was recurr'd to, and out of Love, Compassion, Tendernefs and Friendship was form'd this monstrous Treason, for which he lost his Head ; not but that I must confess, Misprision of Treason might be proved ; yet that alone has since been thought great Cruelty in the Lord *Russel's* Case, and in a great many it may be so, for often that Maxim holds, *Summum Jus est summa Injuria.*

The Indictment was of so many Colours, the Duke desir'd it might be distinguish'd :

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The Judge gave his intrepid Opinion, that Enumeration of Facts made Treason, whether the Facts were Treason or not. By this Distinction the Lord *Strafford* afterwards suffer'd by Bill; and by this Distinction, the honestest Man in the World, after an Enumeration in an Indictment of his Virtues, may be hang'd as a Traitor.

This was certainly blessed Harmony, in taking away the Life of a Man, who I verily believe was innocent.

When the Duke would have objected to the Indictment, it was concisely over-rul'd, by a Method I am very glad not us'd now: The Criminal's Case, tho' a Peer, little differ'd from his being at the *Old Bailey*; the Judges cut him short, and sav'd the Lords a great deal of Trouble in examining what was Law; the Chief Justice stifled all the Objections the Duke could make against the Indictment by this specific Answer: *Sir, We have examin'd the Indictment before we came here, and assure you it is very good in Law.*

The House of Lords, I am very confident, would have sent such a Judge to the Tower in our Days; he might as well have said: *Sir, We have examin'd your Cause before you came here, and found you guilty; therefore say no more, but submit to your Sentence.* Every Subject now has a Right to find Flaws in an Indictment; and

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and the Lords are, in my Opinion, in such a Court Judges themselves, and not Assistants to the Judges.

It's a very hard Case for a Man to be denied Counsel in Capital Cases, and to ask a Judge what is Law, who is fee'd against him. I thank God, we have made a new Improvement in the Land of Liberty in that particular Point ; it's certainly an Improvement upon Savageness ; Judges are very venerable in their Posts, but the most dangerous when made Tools.

We ought therefore to consider a Judge in two Lights ; what Capacity he looks upon himself to be in, and what the People expect from him.

If he looks upon himself to be placed upon the Bench, cloath'd in Fur and cover'd with Ermines, to amuse the publick Eye, while his Business is only to transmit 12000*l.* *per annum* to his Posterity, he will prove a dangerous Council to a State Prisoner upon his last Legs. The Lord deliver me and mine, while they retain any Love for their Country, from so miserable a Fate as to come under their Hands.

It was very prettily answer'd by a Fellow when the Judge told him he was Council for the Prisoner ; *Sir, You're a very unhappy Council for a State Prisoner, when all your Clients come to be hang'd.*

I refer it to your Judgment, Sir, if this

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poor Duke's Case was not very hard; and you will come into my Sentiments, that when a Prince takes it in his Head to lop, his Hand gives Velocity to Courts, and Weight even too much for Law itself.

The Queen, according to *Cambden*, gave the Duke an odd sort of Caution * before any one else had even smelt the Treason.

It was a bewitching Bait, laid by *Leicester* before the Duke's Eyes: A charming Princess in Distress, and all that could take a Man of Gallantry and Honour was his Temptation; yet this *Leicester*, with all his Treachery, made an admirable Prime Minister.

I am very confident this Duke's Indictment had at least ten essential Flaws, and he had not Liberty to plead one.

To conclude; he was brought to the Scaffold, and there us'd with Brutality peculiar to the Roughness of that Age; he was pluck'd by the Sleeve several times by the Sheriff, whilst he was making a very honest Defence, to embalm his Memory against the Putrefaction of Scandal. I refer you to the *State-Trials*, where you will find all the Protestations of Innocence from a Man leaving the World in perfect Charity with even his Enemies.

* Ut caveret cui pulvino caput inclinaret, Camb. an. 1569. p. 170. *That he should take care what Pillow he lean'd his Head on.*

To conclude, Sir, this melancholy Narrative with the Queen of *Scots* Treatment, whose Sufferings and the Duke of *Norfolk's* had a mutual Dependence upon each other.

She claim'd the Crown of *England* upon the suppos'd Invalidity of Queen *Elizabeth's* Mother's Marriage; and, exclusive of the Acts of Parliament corroborating the Queen's Title, concerning which our Legislature has determin'd, her hereditary one was at least dubious as to Fact; but these are Points not in my Sphere to meddle with in this Place; I only observe, that Queen *Mary* might be put upon the same Footing when a Prisoner in *England*, as Queen *Elizabeth* might be supposed if she had been driven upon the Coast of *France*, and taken Prisoner by the Monarch in Possession there.

This *Postulatum* none can deny, who assert the Independency of the Crown of *Scotland* on *England*; and as to Circumstances, Queen *Elizabeth* assum'd the Title and Arms of *France*; though I dare say, the *French* King thought her more bold than welcome: However in Fact the Case stood.

The Queen of *Scots* could by assuming that Title abroad, be no more guilty of Treason, than Queen *Elizabeth* could be in *France*: The utmost was only a just Cause for a Declaration of War; yet as no War followed thereupon, but for many Years all the outward Shews and Protections of Friendship; she was no Prisoner of War, but secur'd as a Pledge,

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a Pledge, by the Right of the Law of Nations, as *Richard I.* was by the House of *Austria*, when he was taken in his Passage from the Holy Land.

But either as a Prisoner of War, or an Hostage, she had the same Rights to act as a Sovereign Princess; and Queen *Elizabeth* could only have Power over her external Actions, as she was a Prisoner against her Will; and no one owes local Allegiance so restrain'd, in the same manner as to a voluntary Residence in a Kingdom.

For Evidence of what I say, I shall use the Queen of *Scots* own Letter to Queen *Elizabeth* in *Cambden*, p. 376.

AFTER my Escape from *Lochlevin*, and being about to give the Rebels Battle, I implor'd your Assistance, sending back the Diamond I had received from you as a Pledge of your Affection and repeated Promises of Assistance against those Rebels, and Assurances, that repairing to you I should find Aid from you in Person; upon Presumption of these Promises, made by you and those about you, I resolv'd to retire to you, as my sacred Anchor in my Afflictions; and that I had done, if the Way had been as open to me as to my Enemies; but before I could get so far, my Journey was cut short, being invested with Guards, shut up in close Places, and expos'd to Sufferings worse than Death.

From

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From hence it appears, her Imprisonment was not the direct Consequence of Hostility, but of Friendship and Confederacy.

How far she was concern'd in foreign Correspondencies to disturb the Harmony of her Cousin's Reign, has no manner of Relation to the Crime of Treason, but was only an Attempt to levy War, which she had as much Right, as a Sovereign to do, as Queen *Elizabeth* had to feed the King of *Navarre*; and the afflicted States of *Holland*, with the Fewel of War.

Therefore altho' the Commission against her was granted upon the Foot of an Act of Parliament, pass'd with a View towards her, *Eliz.* 27. she could not be concluded by a Power, to whom she owed no Allegiance, and which had no Jurisdiction over her.

When she came to her Trial before these Commissioners, Mr. *Comden* conceals some Circumstances, the Records I have seen mention; and they bear such Affinity with the Trial of King *Charles I.*, as convinced me, the Temper of both Courts was the same, and that the Spirit of *Cecil* was in *Bradshaw*.

The Queen being brought before the Commissioners, answer'd to this effect, by way of Protestation, That she was a Free Prince and born a Queen, not subject to any

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any but to God, to whom she must give Account ; and therefore that her appearing should not be prejudicial to other Kings and Princes, nor her Allies, nor her Son ; and therefore desir'd an Act to be made, and desir'd her own People to be Witnesses to it.

Lord Chancellor. [Sir Tho. Bromly.] He protested against the Protestation, That it should in no wise be prejudicial to the Queen's Majesty, nor to the Crown of *England* ; and that they all requir'd it to be enacted.

Mr. Poole. [Clerk of the Crown.] *pleaded the Commission grounded upon the Statute 27 Eliz. Which ended.*

Queen of Scots. I protest the Law is altogether insufficient, and therefore I cannot submit my self to it.

Lord Treasurer Cecil. He avouch'd this Law to be good and sufficient against her, if she were the greatest Empress living.

Queen of Scots. She said the Law was made expressly against her.

Lord Treasurer. We have such strong Commission to proceed, that if you will not hear and answer, we will proceed therein against you, and hasten to your Condemnation.

Queen of Scots. Then I will hear and answer it.

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I appeal to you, Sir, if the Trial of King *Charles* could be suspected of Bastardy, after such a Similitude of Features with its first Parent: Surely, they might afford to give a Sovereign Princess Reasons upon a Subject entirely new, and an Hypothesis never heard of before. To set the common Law of *England* above the Law of Nations, was equally monstrous, as advancing a new Court of Justice, consisting of Subjects against their Sovereign; and because it would not bear Reason or Argument, both Princes were over-ruled by Power and Assurance: In the same Manner *Bradshaw* treated King *Charles*, when he pleaded to the Jurisdiction of that pretended Court, and with the same Deference, and the same Set of Manners: In short, none of the most Anarchical Regicides carried it worse to that unfortunate King, than this Commission, consisting of the politest Men, did to a Princess, who had some Pretensions to better Usage.

To come to the Manner of the Evidence at the Trial, Mr. *Craftsman* would be sorry to have his Bookseller us'd in that Manner; not one Person *viva voce* depos'd against her: Mr. *Cambden* flights the Evidence, who was even Queen *Elizabeth's* devoted Slave.

To conclude, Sir, Liberty was often under the greatest Eclipse in this harmonious
D Reign;

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Reign; and I am sorry to hear a pretended Patriot plead for the Felicity of a Reign full of Confusions, Plots, Conspiracies and Executions; a Reign in which a Prince would have no Bounds set to Power, who could frighten Parliaments to dispense with Forms of Trial, and give the Queen a Power of asking whose Life she was pleased to have, to nominate her Judges, and hang the Witnesses before they gave Evidence.

Sir, Arbitrary Power stalk'd in all its Forms of Horror; the Courts were pointed like Swords for Destruction, the Parliaments fawn'd like Spaniels, and the Clergy flattered; a fine Age to set against the *Stuarts*!

It was a very legal Opinion given at the Earl of *Arundel's* Trial, that wrong Notation of Time and Place was no Exception to an Indictment. A former Lord Chief Justice, in the Duke of *Norfolk's* Case, gave it his Opinion, that it was not necessary to have the Fact true; so that an Indictment without Fact, Time, or Place, could convict a Person capitally by Law. This wou'd appear wretched Law in our Days, when even a Misnomer is a sufficient Error to vacate an Attainder for Felony.

I can give a great many Instances more of these harmonious Practices: And I can find no other Reason for Republicans and Whigs applauding her Reign, than that the Cruelties were very much like their own,

who

who with all their nice Pretences to Liberty and Property, spare none in their Rage; and I believe it will be hard to find in forty-six Years of her Reign, one Person acquitted upon whom she fix'd her Claws, or singled out for Ruin.

Liberty of Conscience is the avow'd Principle of the Whigs. Liberty of Conscience, and Liberty of the Press, are the *Craftsman's* dear and everlasting Topicks; yet, she imprison'd and hang'd the Puritans for Preaching, and cut off the Hands of others for Writing; Savage Punishments of Men of Conscience and Men of Letters: For my part, I am an utter Enemy to persecuting any for various Methods of planting the Worship of the Deity, tho' very often Religion is the Pretence: To God I leave the Judgment of Hearts.

A Book was written by the Puritan Faction in the Year 1581, call'd, *A Gulph wherein England will be swallow'd up by the French Marriage*; *John Stubbs* the Author, *William Page* the Disperser, were sentenc'd to have their Hands cut off; and tho' the Argument of the Book was founded upon as weak a Surmise as the *Hague Letter*, the Sentence was inflicted upon *Page* and *Stubbs* in a most barbarous Manner. Let me add, the Lawyers even then wanted no Law, repeal'd or unrepeal'd, obsolete or new, to carry a vindictive Point.

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The Indictment had a material Flaw, in that the Statute upon which they were indicted, was wrong noted as to Time, an Error that would now set aside any Indictment for High Treason it self; yet it was over-rul'd. And to add more to these arbitrary Practices, they were indicted upon an expir'd Statute made in the bloody Reign of Queen *Mary*. *Dalton*, a Lawyer, who found out this Blot, was committed to the Tower; and *Monson*, a Judge of the *Common Pleas*, who insisted upon it, was turn'd out. *Wray*, the Lord Chief Justice, over-rul'd the Plea, and pretended the Statute was renew'd *primo Elizab.* if it was, he could only be indicted upon the new Statute, and not the old expir'd one. For the Account of these Proceedings, See *Cambden*, Anno 1581. p. 367.

Other Sectaries were hang'd at *St. Edmond's-Bury*, in the Year 1583; but upon what Statute they were indicted, I cannot even pretend to conjecture.

These were harsh Proceedings, and convince me more fully still, that Mr. *Craftsman* would in that Reign have been hang'd for several very important Truths he has oblig'd the World with in this. He may thank his Stars his Birth was not anticipated, but reserv'd to an Age in which there is a Spirit of Liberty, tho' he is very ungrateful to the Patrons and first Founders thereof;

of; we owe all that to the *Stuarts*; yet I must impartially confess, some very good Laws have pass'd since, tho' I have known 'em totter, and scarce stand their Ground, when Power, Influence, and Ambition have been in their Way: But concerning this Spirit of Liberty, I shall say more hereafter.

The Rack was one of the Blessings of that harmonious Reign. *Campion* the Jesuit was rack'd before he was allow'd to dispute; See *Cambden*, Anno 1580, who says, he did not answer Expectations. I ask Mr. *Craftsman*, if it was a fair Engine to apply to a Theological Exercise, and if his own Writings would not come out a little distorted after such a disjoining of his Bones? I thank God, the Rack is one of the Blessings that ended with her Reign. The Monument of that superlative Tyranny is yet to be seen in the *Tower*; a most invidious Proof, that Liberty could not shew her Head, till the *Stuarts* drove that frightful Engine away. Surely they were Times of Horror, when a Man was tortur'd to accuse himself; when Evidence was extracted from Pain and Agonies, and Witnesses were not permitted to appear in Court, but a Paper wrote and sign'd by the Devil knows who, was equivalent to a living Person, who, by our Laws, ought freely and voluntarily to depose the Truth. The Conduct in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign bears so near a Resem-

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Resemblance to the *Czar* of *Muscovy's* Proceedings against his Son, that I do not wonder *Basilides*, the *Muscovite* Monarch, wanted Copulation with an *English* Lady, to keep up the Sternness of his Breed. See *Cambden*, Anno 1583.

A great many bright Strokes of Harmony charm'd every Ear in this Reign. A sad Instance of the Application of the Rack was in *Throgmorton's* Case; it's a Wooden Engine, animated to speak any Thing a perverse Minister dictates. That *Throgmorton*, upon the Rack, deliver'd enough to hang himself, I confess; and *Cambden* blames his Inconstancy, that he deny'd all at the Gallows, and restored Truth to its primitive Form. This Historian did not reflect that as Flesh and Blood work upon the human Soul, so Wooden Tortures work upon the Flesh and Blood; and the Man upon the Rack does not properly speak himself: This accounts very well for two different Confessions, one there, and another at the Gallows.

By this time, Sir, your Passions must be work'd to a great Indignation; I am sorry I have not done yet, to leave you to compose your Spirits after so many frightful Stories. *Cambden* confesses the universal Practice of trepanning in that Reign, by which no Man pointed at by a Minister, was secure in his Life and Fortune. Thousands of Vipers were bred at the Secretaries Office,

Office, and sent out to creep into Families, to lie in Bosoms, and sting the Patrons who warm'd and cherish'd 'em. A suspected Papist could not enjoy that Blessing of Life, a Retreat in the Country; he was either hunted by Messengers, or viper'd out by the indefatigable Interest of *Cecil*, and other Ministers: Plots were forc'd upon him, for they had all Sets of Instruments for Mischief. Even Priests who went to and fro, as *Giffard* and *Walpole*, &c. and by these Measures, *Walsingham* never wanted a Plot, and kept even *Babington* in his own House, who serv'd both Purposes for that able Minister, to be hang'd, and to be an Evidence against the Queen of Scots.

O *Muscovy*! thy Snows are a Paradise, *Siberia*, *Abraham's* Bosom, when compared to a Soil like ours, so corrupted with Treachery. The poor Earl of *Arundel's* Fate I cannot but lament: He was looking out for a Retreat abroad, and wanted only a quiet Bed in some Country, where he might moulder in Obscurity and Peace. His Letter to the Queen was so pathetic, it would move a Stone; yet he was brought back, sent to the Tower, first fin'd, afterwards tried for his Life, condemn'd, tho' pardon'd. I have seen the Records of his Trial; strange Things were sworn against him, and which, if true, I am confident would have procur'd him no Pardon; so that he was sav'd purely
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ly by Remorse. His Letter is in *Cambden*
Anno 1585.

Sir *John Perrot's* Case, is a remarkable Instance of trepanning : He was Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and brought from thence a very good ministerial Character, and bating their Tricks, he would pass very well ; upon his Return his Enemies at Court were strong enough to get him tried upon a complicated Indictment, Words and Treason together ; the Evidences against him were vile enough, and one was an *Irish* Decoy Priest of his own bringing up. The Treason no Man believed ; it was a common Way to peppet Indictments : 'Tis true, that slight and passionate Words concerning the Queen he confessed ; this Misdemeanour procur'd his Condemnation for the Treason, and he sav'd the Hangman a Labour, by dying in Prison : Even *Cecil* sigh'd for this Man's Fate, but whether he was a Crocodile I cannot tell.

These Ministers had all manner of Plots, some fetch'd from the Depths of Hell, and others carried to them upon the Wings of the Wind : The Paper Plot was so diverting, I must crave your Patience, for an Account thereof ; *Creighton* a *Scotch* Jesuit, passing into *Scotland*, was taken by Pirates ; he tore some Papers into Pieces and cast them over-board ; the Wind blew them back again into the Ship, and by strange For-

Fortune they came to *Waad's* Hands, who was in *England* treating with the Queen of *Scots* for her Liberty; he put the Pieces together, and made old Father *Æolus* Witness to a damnable Plot hatching with the *Pope*, the *Spaniards* and the *Guises* to invade *England*.

This Paper Plot answer'd some Ends very well; it broke off all Treaty with the Queen of *Scots*, and brought on an Association, the Ancestor of a pretty numerous Family since.

They did not insist upon Two Evidences in those Days, one and an half was sufficient; *Lea* was executed for proposing to deliver *Essex* and *Southampton* out of Custody: The Evidence against him was a Captain of a Ship, together with his own Confession, that he was innocent, as *Cambden* says *Anno 1601, P. 841*.

Sir, if all these Instances prove Liberty, they prove only Liberty taken with our Constitution; for my part, I cannot see what Felicity of that Reign Mr. *Craftsman* drives at; our Reputation Abroad indeed, as to Valour, Conduct, and Knavery, was very great; and our Trade flourished above any Attempts of the *Spaniards*; yet I believe, I shall prove all our Riches were not got in her Reign, but some Felicity came into us afterwards,
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tho'

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tho' we were very unthankful to God for it.

The Freedom of Parliaments is the Beauty, Glory, and Strength of our Constitution; yet how were they us'd in her Reign: I shall instance particularly, the Parliament 35 *Eliz.* whose Transactions Mr. *Cambden* passes over in profound Silence, for Reasons best known to himself: I shall set it down as I find it in the Journals.

Concerning their Petition for Liberty of Speech, the Queen answereth:

“ Liberty of Speech is granted, but how
 “ far, this is to be thought on: There be
 “ two Things of most Necessity, and these
 “ two doe most Harme, which are, Witt and
 “ Speech: The one exercised in Invention,
 “ the other uttered in Things invented.
 “ Priviledge of Speech is granted; but
 “ you must know what Priviledge you
 “ have, not to speak every one what he
 “ listeth, or what cometh into his Brain
 “ to utter, but your Priviledge is to such
 “ Speech as shall be us'd with Judgement
 “ and Sobrietie; wherefore, Mr. Speaker,
 “ her Majesty's Pleasure is, that if you
 “ perceiving idle Heads which will not
 “ sticke to hazard their own Estates, which
 “ will meddle with reformeing the Church,
 “ and transformeing the Commonwealth,
 “ and exhibitt any Bill, to such Purpose,
 “ that you receive them not, till they be
 “ receiv-

“ received and consider’d by those whom
“ it is fitter should consider of such Things,
“ and can better judge of them.”

Such Language in these Days to Parliaments would set the whole Kingdom in a Flame. I shall proceed next, Sir, to shew you how she behav’d, when she came to Facts. In the same Parliament, *Feb. 24.* “ *Saturday* Mr. *Peter Wentworth* and Sir “ *Henry Bromley*, delivered a Petition unto “ the Lord-Keeper, therein desiring the “ Lords of the Upper House to be supplicant with them of the Lower House unto “ her Majesty, for entayleing the Succession, whereof a Bill was ready drawn by “ them.”

“ Her Majestie was highly displeased therewithal (after she knew thereof) as a “ Matter contrarie to her former straight “ Commandment, and charg’d the Council to call the Persons before them. Sir “ *Thomas Henage* presently sent for them, “ and after Speeches had with them to “ leave the Parliament, and not goe out “ from their severall Lodgings; the Day “ after they were called before the Lord “ Treasurer, Lord *Buckhurst*, and Sir *Thomas Henage*; the Lords entreated them “ favourably, and with good Speech, but “ soe highly was her Majestie offended, “ that they must needs committ them, and “ soe they told them: Mr. *Peter Went-*
E 2 “ *worth*

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“ *worth* was sent Prisoner to the Tower ;
 “ *Sir Henry Bromely*, and one *Mr Richard*
 “ *Stevens*, to whom *Sir Henry Bromely*
 “ imparted the Matter, were sent to the
 “ *Fleete*, as also *Mr. Welch*, the other
 “ *Knight of Worcestershire.*”

This is a true Account from the Journals of very arbitrary Proceedings, and her closing Speech at this Sessions was full as bad : It was a compleat Declaration of her great Power over her Subjects : She complains that several of her Subjects upon Rumours of the *Spanish* Invasion left the Sea Coast, and retir'd up into the Country : She us'd these remarkable Words.

But I swear unto you, by God, if I knew those Persons, or may know any that shall doe soe hereafter, I will make them know and feelee, what it is to be fearful, in so urgent a Cause.

The *Eastern* Monarchs in all their Pride of Arbitrary Power, could not express themselves with more Spirit, than she did upon this Occasion. Courage is the Gift of Heaven, and her Protection ought to extend to Cowards, who may be useful to Society : They fill up a Shew in the Ministry, sometimes with the common Applause and with Flatteries in course, more properly due to the bravest Men : I never heard of any Law to punish Cowards, tho' I remember the *Lacedemonian* Custom was, for the
 Wo-

Women to fall upon their flying Husbands returning from Battle, and this Speech was not unbecoming a *Spartan* Dame.

I appeal to you, Sir, if she did not threaten, as tho' the Power of Life and Death, and all Punishments were her own: Her Parliaments humour'd her in all her Flights: I have seen a Petition of a House of Commons to her, that she would by her Royal Authority suspend the Execution of the Penal Laws till next Session of Parliament, and signify the same to all her loving Subjects by a Proclamation. See *Mss.* N. 36. P. 327. in the *Inner-Temple* Library: This Petition seems to have been delivered early, after the Birth of *Puritanism*, before she had sent her Royal Injunction, that they should not meddle with any religious Matters, without her and the Bishop's Leave.

Thus, Sir, she was as compleatly Arbitrary as *Tiberius*, and her Senate could not have been more tame, if they had been bred up by the Teacher of her Setting Dogs.

As to her Ministry, I have in some Measure describ'd them before; their multiplied Oppressions made the Nobility and Gentry groan; tho' the common People, the Merchant and Tradesman, never found a Reign more prosperous. This Prosperity was not confin'd to her Reign alone, for our Conquests and Settlements in the *East* and

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and *West Indies* a long Series of Years, without a consuming Land War, were all fortunate to that Set of Men who liv'd by Industry and Trade during all the Reigns of the *Stuarts* long after her Death.

Yet by all Accounts, *Leicester* was the greatest Monster in Nature: I have got a Book by me without a Name, tho' in the Preface it is own'd to be wrote by a Pupil-monger in *Cambridge*. It was reprinted in the Year 1641, and wrote by one who personally knew that Favourite.

A great many Tricks laid to his Charge are insinuated by *Cambden*, and the rest to compleat the Horrour of this harmonious Minister and of this Reign: The Name of the Book is *Leicester's Commonwealth*, as it stands printed in the Year 1641, tho' in *M. de Neve's* Opinion whose Book it was, it is the same with that called, *a Letter from a Master of Arts in Cambridge to his Friend in London, concerning some Proceedings of the Earl of Leicester, printed 1584*; I shall only jult give you, Sir, the Heads of the Crimes laid to his Charge.

(1.) Preparations for Rebellion upon the intended Marriage of the Duke of *Anjou* with the Queen. (2.) His Adulteries with *Effex's* Wife and poisoning her Husband, and murthuring his first Wife. (3.) Poisoning the Lord *Sheffield* and corrupting his Wife. (4.) Poisoning Cardinal *Chatillian*,
who

who accused him to the Queen. (5.) Poisoning Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* in a *Salade*. (6.) Poisoning the Lady *Lenox*. (7.) Two Wives at a Time, called by a certain Lord, *his Old and New Testaments*. (8.) Practices to assassinate *Monsi. Simiers* the Duke of *Anjou's* Agent. (9.) Attempting to murder the Earl of *Ormond*. (10.) Keeping Intelligence with the Rebels in *Ireland*. (11.) Causing *Salvatur* and *Doughty* to be murdered, and his Servant *Gates* to be hang'd. (12.) Supporting the *French* in the Detention of *Calais* for the Sake of a Bribe. (13.) Spoiling the University of *Oxford*. (14.) Scandalous Instance of Oppression and arbitrary Power, in the Case of *Snowden Forest*. (15.) Particular Oppressions of private Men. See P. 79 and 80. (16.) Trepanning the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Sir *Christopher Hatton*, and Spite to the Earl of *Sbrensbury*.

How much, Sir, is Mr. *Craftsman* deceived concerning the Felicity of this Reign! Felicities it had, but this great Leviathan sported with them: Of such a Favourite we may truly say with *Job*, *His Heart is as firm as a Stone, yea as hard as a Piece of the nether Millstone*.

I shall from the same Book give you the particular Heads of the Crimes of this great Favourite, as I have before done for the Duke of *Suffolk*. I think it very proper to pre-
serve

serve wicked Characters to Posterity for Detestation, as I propose the Good for Honour and Esteem: We shall find such an Analogy in all the Characters of Evil Ministers, that if you shuffle them together, even those of all Ages, they will come out alike; *Leicester*, says my Book, P. 58, was at the Head of all Law Suits; as soon as ever a Case was propounded; 'our Custom is to ask, what Part my Lord *Leicester* is like to take? according to his Inclinations therein, we may guess what the Event will be.' I shall reduce his ministerial Practice to proper Heads, *viz.*

Suits, Lands, Licences, falling out with her Majesty, Offices, Clergy, Benefices, University, Oppressions, Rapines, Princes Favour, Presents; if I could but get a View of a Prime Minister's Scrutore, I fancy to my self, what Variety I should there see. The above mentioned Titles, as the Heads of his Conduct, put over every distinct Apartment there; the Drawers filled with Schemes for each Head: A Set of Clergy for Bishopricks, Knaves for the Treasury, and Fools for Titles, *Dulcis est lucri odor ex re qualibet.*

By this Time, Sir, you may form a Notion, what an harmonious Reign it must be, how serene the Air, and how fair the Sky, when such Conjurers are at work! Oh happy Times when Favourites reign, when Princes are muzzled only to those Favourites, and

and a Mark upon every Man, like a *Lord have Mercy on us*, in the Time of the Plague. This is Bigotry with a Vengeance; I shall give some Directions where and from whom we may expect Cruelty.

The Primitive Christians brought Persecutions upon themselves two Ways. 1st, By spoiling the Eating and Drinking Trade of the Priests of that Age. 2dly, By imitating to Exactness, the Degrees of Ecclesiastical Dignities, *Flamens* and *Arch-Flamens*, with the Partitions of Diocesess exactly agreeable to the Division of the *Roman* Empire; they gave great Jealousy to the Heathen Pontiffs of a Rivalship in Power; from hence it came that so many Bishops went thro' that Gate to Heaven, that narrow Gate of Martyrdom, thro' which Priests are hardly perswaded to pass now.

To apply this to more modern Times; when a Set of Men are thrown out of an Establishment, and want to get in again; this shall be cloath'd with all the specious Pretences of Zeal for Religion; not to plant a suffering Religion in a Desert, nor to pray in an unendow'd Hermitage, and a poor Cave; but these Men kick and spur for an Establishment, because with this Establishment, Bishopricks and Preferments, Splendor and Luxury attend.

These warm the Passions, and produce that Ebulliency of Church Zeal and if a Prince

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will

will resign himself to these Men, he must be a Jackal instead of a Lyon; he will be govern'd by Blockheads and supplanted by Knaves.

Such were the Jesuits who spur'd against Queen *Elizabeth's* Title; and such Priests there were in King *James's* Court: Yet I will not charge the King with Cruelty, who declar'd for Liberty of Conscience on his Death-bed, nor his Lady with that destroying Principle, who fed Protestants with her own Hands.

I have been an Eye-witness of that Lady's Compassion; I have seen a frugal Table hardly kept up, by Reason of the ill Payment of her Pension: I have seen Protestants as well as Papists languish for the Time of Payment, and I have seen Joy in every Face the Moment it has come to her Hands; tho' even in that little narrow Court, the 'Treasurers and Ministry might in Miniature partake of the Failings of the larger Seminaries.

If it was a Crime in this Lady to be zealous for her Religion, Mr. *Crafsman* must prove it was the ill turn'd Zeal to raise her Religion to outward Splendor and Glory, yet she was in her Life perfectly ascetick.

I do not believe these later Ages have produc'd a Woman more mortified to the World, nor so great a Saint; at least, she might be a perfect Saint upon the *Bangorian* Scheme; for Sincerity in her Way was inseparable from her;

her; and if erroneous Sincerity cou'd justify, we may with the Bishop of *Salisbury's* Leave, place this Saint in Heaven.

I shall add one Story, to prove she was intirely free from guiding or directing any of those fatal Counsels, we have too much Reason at this time to bewail.

A certain Lady, whose Name upon a proper Occasion I can produce, was very well acquainted with the Court at that Time; she met King *James* in the Park, about the beginning of his unhappy Measures; she frankly told him, if he proceeded that Way, it wou'd not be in the Power of his Friends to preserve him from Ruin. The Queen was inform'd by the King how free that Lady had been with him; afterwards the Queen says to Madam *La Marche* abroad: *If the King had taken the kind Hint given him by such a Lady, he might have preserv'd his Dominions to that Day for himself and moreover for his Posterity.* It's very evident from hence, the Queen was innocent, and disapprov'd from her Heart every thing done to alarm the Nation.

Those People who make so free with this Princess's Character, wou'd be very unwilling to let in the same Spirit of Calumny, upon their own Families; but Mankind when they do Injuries, never make the injur'd Case their own.

With other Prejudices, it was generally inculcated, that she was a perfect Step-mother to the Princess of *Denmark*, and the Mob were made to believe that Princess was murdered, when she was very safe under the Protection of a Prelate, who cou'd defend her with Arms as well as Prayers and Tears. The Bishop of *London*.

Yet I can prove, the Queen was as tender and as fond of the Princess, as of her own Child; she attended at her Lyings-in, and in return, that detraacting Age, made her cruel, fierce, and brutal as *Medea*. A Report was spread of Indignities us'd to the Princess; that while the Queen was gross, the Princess was deny'd the Compliment of handing to her the Smock: Mrs. *Dawson*, who liv'd and dy'd a zealous Protestant, was present at that time, and knew the falsity of the Report; repair'd to the Princess, who confess'd she did hand the Smock, and laid her Hand upon the Queen's Belly, and felt the Child in the *Womb*, and if Mr. *Craftsman* wants a farther Proof of the Truth of this Fact, he shall have it.

After what has been said, we shall be at a very great Loss to find out the Faction headed by the Queen; the Lord *Sunderland* and Father *Petre* are found out closely link'd together, but disjoin'd from Her. I have inquir'd of some alive, Persons of the first Rank, and zealously attach'd to the Revolution, and to the present Court it self, and
were

were equally conversant in that of King *James*. They remember no Faction headed by the Queen, and I here challenge Mr. *Craftsman*, to prove there ever was such a Faction. I ask, and I adjure him to tell me their Names, were they the Privy Council, or Officers of State?

I desire the Reader to observe, that most of the Privy Counsellors and Officers of State serv'd again in the succeeding Reign, and we cannot imagine the Prince of *Orange* wou'd take in the Queen's Faction.

Prince *George* of *Denmark* left the King at *Salisbury*, and assur'd his Father, in a Letter left behind him, he did it out of a Principle of Conscience and Religion. This Prince cou'd not be of the Queen's Faction, I appeal to Mr. *Craftsman*.

The Faction that reign'd in *Henry Sixth's* Time, were the Privy Council, and under that Privy Council the Duke of *Suffolk* shelter'd himself, against the formidable Accusation of surrendring *Mans* to the *French*. We shall find no such Faction headed by the Queen in King *James's* Reign, for it is not to be suppos'd, the Prince of *Orange* after he come to the Possession of the Crown, wou'd take in any of the Queen's Faction, for if she had a Faction, it must be a Faction that drove at establishing Popery in this Kingdom; that the Prince of *Orange* wou'd take in none of these, I lay down as a *Postulatum*,

latum, and the *Craftsman*, who always files this Prince a great and glorious Deliverer, would contradict all the fine Things he has said of him, and even blow up his Declaration it self, in supposing he wou'd take into his Bosom the very Faction he came to free the Nation from.

The Earl of *Rochester*, tho' strip'd of his Places, had a very considerable Pension from the Court; and was look'd upon as firmly attach'd to King *James* in his Prosperity; yet, that was no Objection in the succeeding Reign, to his being made a Privy Counsellor; from whence it is plain, he was not incapacitated by his former Conduct.

The Duke of *Queensbury*, was another Favourite of King *James*, in as compleat a Manner; as to be very near a first Rate one; and tho' he had serv'd under *Dundee*, he was trusted with a separate Body of Troops to fight against him; he was afterwards made one of the Lords of the Treasury in *Scotland*, Lord High-Treasurer, Lord Privy-Seal, one of the extraordinary Lords of the Session, &c.

The D. of *Buckingham*, sufficiently tells the World what Obligations he himself had to King *James*, in his Posthumous Works; he had his Ear when that Prince was only Duke of *York*, and in King *James's* Reign, he was a Privy-Counsellor, and Lord Chamberlain; in the succeeding Reign he was a Privy-Coun-

Counsellor likewise, and made Marquis of *Normandy*.

Earl *Godolphin*, the D. of *Buckingham* says, had the mutual Esteem of both Parties; and I dare say, none to this Day will accuse him of Treachery to King *James*: In that Reign He was Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, and Commissioner to the Treasury, and tho' so near her Person, he was never suspected to be one of this imaginary Faction; and afterwards he was continu'd in the Treasury, sworn of the Privy-Council, and made four times one of the Lords Justices of *England*. He is indeed blam'd by *Echard*, with a Presumption peculiar to this Mercenary Historian, for not deserting King *James* at a Time, when he was his King and cou'd command his Duty; see *Echard* P. 1129. The Prince of *Orange* and Mr. *Echard* widely differ'd in their Sentiments, concerning this great Minister, as appears from what has been said. For my Part, *sit anima mea cum Philosophis*, when Fidelity becomes a Vice, and Treachery a Virtue.

The Lord Viscount *Newport*, Treasurer of the Household, had a Face as hard to distinguish from that of a Courtier, as any one there; yet he was distinguish'd by the Title of Earl of *Bradford*, by *W.* and *M.*

The Duke of *Marlborough* was King *James's* prime Favourite, and the Queen was as Tender of the Lady he married,

ried, as of her own Child; he was made Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, Capt. of a Troop of Life-Guards, and Lord *Churchill* by that Monarch: The next Reign he was Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and created Earl of *Marlborough*, Governor to the Duke of *Gloucester*, Privy Counsellor, and thrice Lord Justice; and finally, trusted with the Command of the *English* Forces in *Flanders*.

The Reader may conclude from hence, that here is a great Draught out of the Ministry, of Persons who cou'd not be of the Queen's Faction, and as to the Remainder.

The Lord *Preston*, Secretary of State, liv'd and died a zealous Protestant, tho' condemn'd for adhering to King *James*: Mr. *Echard* indeed tells us, he was a Favourer of Popery; see P. 1124, for a Confutation of that, I remit him to the present Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was his Chaplain, and knew him best: This Lord died some Years after the Revolution in the Communion of the Church of *England*, when he had no Temptation to counterfeit under the Sentence of Death, and did not start from it, even at the Sight of his Coffin.

I must now come back to Mr. *Craftsman*, and assist him as far as in my Power, from the Remainder of the Court.

We must consult the List of those Persons excepted from the Act of Indemnity in the
Year

Year 1690; in this List the Faction must be found; the Exception from an Act of Indemnity is a kind of an Attainder, its a prejudging from a strong Presumption of Guilt; the Faction was either in this List or not, if in the List, they will be as surely catch'd as ever Ducks were taken in a Decoy: But if they are not in the List, the Birds were strangely flown at the Revolution, to escape unseen, untouch'd, and unmain'd: The Authors of so much Mischief, cou'd not be omitted by so wise a Prince.

Their Names were,

<i>William Marquis of Powis.</i>	<i>John Earl of Melfort.</i>
<i>Robert Earl of Sunderland.</i>	<i>Lord Thomas Howard.</i>
<i>Roger Earl of Castlemain.</i>	<i>Thomas Lord Bishop of St.</i>
<i>Nathaniel Lord Bishop of</i>	<i>David's.</i>
<i>Durham.</i>	<i>William Molineux.</i>
<i>Henry Lord Dover.</i>	<i>Sir Edward Herbert.</i>
<i>Sir Edward Hales.</i>	<i>Sir Richard Holloway.</i>
<i>Sir Francis Wythens.</i>	<i>Sir Richard Heath.</i>
<i>Sir Edward Lutwich.</i>	<i>Sir Roger l'Estrange.</i>
<i>Sir Thomas Jenner.</i>	<i>Edward Petre.</i>
<i>Sir Nicholas Butler.</i>	<i>Townly, commonly call'd</i>
<i>Thomas Tildesly.</i>	<i>Col. Townly.</i>
<i>Rowland Tempest.</i>	<i>Edward Morgan.</i>
<i>Obadiab Walker.</i>	<i>Robert Brent.</i>
<i>Richard Graham.</i>	<i>Philip Burton.</i>
<i>Robert Lundy.</i>	<i>Matthew Crone.</i>
<i>Theophilus Earl of Hun-</i>	
<i>tingdon.</i>	

I do not dispute there being Criminals in this List, but I question very much the Queen's Faction being to be found here; for as to the

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Marquis

Marquis of *Powis*, if he was a Friend to the Q. it does not appear he was in any Faction ; he beg'd to be excus'd from sitting in the Privy Council, he remonstrated to the King in his Closet, how detrimental such a Promotion must be to his Affairs ; but he at last accepted it *malgrè luy*, more in Obedience to the King's Commands, than from his own Opinion of the King's Prudence. This was very well known at Court at that Time, therefore he was not one of this driving Faction.

Robert Earl of *Sunderland*, was excepted indeed out of this Act, but as he was afterwards made Lord Chamberlain, I take for granted, his new Master was fully satisfy'd, he was not in Earnest to bring in Popery ; I must needs say the Extreams of promoting a Bill of Exclusion, and advancing Popery ; and those profess'd by a Man who drop'd even Popery itself after the Revolution, carry strong Marks of a Contradiction, not to be accounted for in the common Way of Men who act by Principle in an open and fair Manner ; by the Bill of Exclusion he certainly meant to break and ruin the *Stuarts*, by beating the Daughters against the Father : In King *James's* Reign he cou'd have no better Method than to play Popery and Fanaticism in the Face of the Church of *England* : Whether he design'd to play the Duke of *Monmouth* upon King *James*, or to decoy him over to be ruin'd ; I will not say, but

but that he kept a Correspondence with *Monmouth*, and promis'd to betray the King: I shall make highly probable, by connecting two different Relations together.

The Lord Grey, who had the Command of *Monmouth's* Horse, was brought to *Farnham* in his Way from the *West*; I can very well prove it by substantial Witnesses now alive, that he said thus; 'We had not landed in *England*, without the strongest Assurances of our Business, being cut much shorter to our Hands than we found it.

Upon hearing this at *Farnham*, I reflected that I had heard frequently the Reverend Mr. *Abraham Castle*, a Nonjuring Clergyman, tell me concerning an Officer of his Acquaintance, who was present when King *James* had an Interview with the Duke of *Monmouth*; I wrote to him to send me a full Account of the same, which he did *Jan. 23, 1730*; to this Purpose.

What I told you formerly relating to the Duke of *Monmouth*, I had from two Officers, both then upon Duty, and in this Order.

When the Duke was bringing up from the West under a Guard, he desir'd an Officer to hasten before him, with a Petition to the King, that he would be pleas'd to see him in his Passage and Way to the Tower, which the King granted, and he was brought to him. Lord Sunderland was not at Court at the Interim when that Petition was deli-

ver'd, and so could not hinder it; but being return'd thither before the Duke was come, he would then have hinder'd it; but the King refus'd, as he had given his Promise to a Man in his Circumstances. When the Duke was come, Lord Sunderland order'd some Officers (Captain Meers one of 'em, who told it me) to stand at the Threshold of the Room where the King was, with the Door open, that nothing of great Concern or Privacy might pass. The Duke flung himself on his Knees, and remain'd without speaking; the King kept walking past him backward and forward in the Room, without speaking too for some Time, his Disorder was so great; the Captain said, there was no judging whose Concern or Sorrow was greatest. The King spoke first to this Effect: "I thought I had been Friend enough to you, with your Father, when you wou'd have serv'd him, as you have since done me." And a little after, "Alas! Jemmy, How came you to cast so barbarous and infamous a Blot upon me, as to charge me in your Declaration with poisoning my Brother; think with yourself, how little Reason you had to say it, and how hard it is to forgive it; Ah Jemmy! How easily could I forgive every Thing else?" The Duke said Nothing but what amounted to this, "That he was a most unfortunate Man, &c. and entreated his Majesty that

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"he would be pleas'd to see him once more;
"which the King said he should."

Lord Sunderland kept himself mostly at the King's Back, watching the Duke's Eyes, and as he saw him look upon him, he would nod and tweak himself with his Finger on his Nose, as a Sign for hushing and keeping himself wholly to that Strain.

And after a short Time of this Interview, Lord Sunderland turn'd to the King, and said, "Your Majesty's Grief is too hard upon you, it ought not to be suffer'd to proceed thus: Ye will be both more at ease when the Duke is gone, Pray let him be dismiss'd from you." which was done in a very sorrowful Manner.

When the Duke was come to his Lodging in the Tower, he ask'd for Pen, Ink, and Paper, which were not deny'd him, and wrote almost a Sheet full to the King: He desir'd Captain Scot, who was upon Duty at the Tower (as was Captain Dean, who told it me, at the same time) and known to the Duke to carry it for him, and to deliver it to the King himself.

Captain Scot return'd; and told the Duke that he could not get in to the King's Presence, but was oblig'd to give the Letter to Lord Sunderland, who had promis'd to take Care of it. The Duke fell immediately into a bitter Exclamation before the Captain, "Surely, said He, Misfortunes do still at-
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“tend me in all I do; I have lost an Op-
 “portunity while I was lately with the
 “King, and may never have another: The
 “King indeed, promis’d me another Admis-
 “sion into his Presence before we parted;
 “but if my Apprehensions at present don’t
 “much deceive me, ’twill neer be done:
 “That Sunderland’s Head may never rest
 “till mine be off.”

These are the most material Passages of
 that Transaction, which I had from those
 Gentlemen; which were often repeated by
 ’em on such several Occasions as occur’d in a
 Course of much Conversation with both of
 ’em.

Captain Dean, I knew very well to be a
 sober and religious Cavalier, he was a con-
 stant Frequenter of my Prayers, to the Day
 of his Death, not omitting even the Week
 Days; and as for Meers he testify’d a great
 deal of Integrity by starving for it: The Third
 as I imagine was of the same unpopular Stamp;
 tho’ not in the least known to me.

The Reader may form his own Judgment
 upon the Credibility of these Evidences; I
 only desire him to observe that the House
 where King James met the Duke was *Chiffins*,
 and the *Craftsman* may disprove it if he can,
 by any Circumstance which will contradict
 the Facts.

A great many curious Observations flow
 from this Relation.

1st, That

1st, That a prime Minister ought to be chain'd to the Court like a Squirrel to his Hut; how dangerous it is for 'em to remove one Inch from the Person of the Prince: This Lord was much nearer losing his Head upon this Accident, than when he left the King to the Mercy of the Prince of *Orange*.

2d, The Petition getting the Start of the prime Minister, may teach any Prince to fortify his Towns, and keep his Person as open as he can; Enemies have a conscious Trembling, they dare not approach but under the Covert of Friends; and a sincere Clown may have the Lips of Wisdom and Truth if he has not the Complaisance of the Knave.

3d, The Cruelty of the Lord *Sunderland* who wou'd dissuade the King from performing his Promise.

4th, That the King design'd Mercy for that unfortunate Duke, by promising to see him again, and in all Probability after the Break of his Passion wou'd have forgiven him, if *Sunderland* had not prevented it.

5th, *Monmouth's* Eyes upon *Sunderland*, and the Tweaks on the Nose, are sure and certain Proofs that they knew what Signs to make; that *Monmouth* wou'd have blown up the Lord *Sunderland*, if he had not been encourag'd by that silent Language to hold his Tongue: He expected that Lord wou'd be his Friend and save his Life, with whom he had

had been engag'd in many a Plot before, to destroy his Father and his Uncle.

6th, *Sunderland's* Head was the Alternative of the Duke of *Monmouth's*, for King *James* to have at that Time.

To return. This Lord was not excepted out of the Act of Indemnity as one of the Queen's Faction, as I have prov'd before, she was intirely against his Measures; and the Truth of this I have confirm'd, by all the Persons I have met with, who knew the Queen or were of that Court. A very antient Gentleman now at *London* assures me, that *Madam Loven*, one of the Queen's Dressers, has told him, that the Queen repeated often to her, the great Anxiety she was under, upon the Account of the Lord *Sunderland's* driving Measures, from whose Phaetontick Precipitation she expected a headlong Ruin to her Husband and Family. In short, the Testimonies croud in so fast to prove this, I must call upon Mr. *Craftsman* to give some Satisfaction for the Injury he has done this excellent Princess.

To proceed with our List, *Roger* Earl of *Castlemain*, as appears by his Examination before the House of Commons, could not be of this Faction; he was just come out of the Country, and press'd in the Streets by the Lord *Sunderland*, before he had seen either Court or Queen, for the Expedition to *Rome*; for his Defence I remit the Reader to *the State Trials*,

Trials, where it is to be seen at large, and in which he renounces every jot of Temporality the Pope could pretend to in *England*, by which it appears, he was far from being cut out for this bigotted Faction insisted upon by the *Craftsman*.

Our next was, that stedfast worthy Prelate, the Bishop of *Durham*, of whom his Father said, when he was no more than eight Years old. *The roundness of my Son's Head, convinces me it will bow even upon any Green.* Tho' the Prelate took Care to keep it upon his Shoulders, by leaving the King in the first Part of his Distress; and to say such a Creature as this was in the Faction, is the same as to say, all the Spaniels King *Charles* bred were in the Faction.

The next is the Lord *Dover*, whose Crimes cou'd not be of the deepest Dye; his Pardon was easily procur'd upon his making a Submission only in *Ireland*.

Theophilus Earl of *Huntingdon*, could not be in that Popish Faction, who liv'd and dy'd a strict Protestant; his Fidelity to King *James* is best accounted for on his Monument, tho' his Posterity have drawn a Curtain over it.

The Earl of *Melfort*, was a Lord indeed of whom the Queen had a very good Opinion, as to his Integrity and Honour, more of him she had better Sense than to value;

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he was a very weak Man, and *Sunderland's* perpetual Tool; and indeed, the only Man the *Craftsman* can pick out, who could reasonably and possibly be of this Faction: He had Vivacity and Folly enough to make one, but where to pick such another wou'd be very hard; he had Zeal without Knowledge, Spirit without Sense, and Activity without Conduct, by all which, he was qualified to be an ignorant hot meddling Fool.

But by the Character of the Queen's Sense, Quickness and Sharpness, she could not value him so as to be led by the Nose; she knew him better, and while she was condemning the Lord *Sunderland's* Conduct, she could not admire *Melfort's*, who was his Creature, and guided only by him and Father *Petre*.

Where then shall we find this Faction for the *Craftsman*; the rest of the List, except *Watson*, Bishop of St. *David's*, were either Lawyers, or obscure Papists, of not Moment enough to be a Faction, except Sir *Roger L'Estrange*, who resisted all Temptation to turn Papist; and I dare say never spoke a Word to the Queen in his Life: I take his Misfortunes in a great Measure to be owing to his Inveteracy against Dr. *Oates*.

To conclude, here is not the least Shadow of a Faction to be found, headed by the Queen, and as to her governing her Husband,

I observe that is false in Fact; the poor King went down another Stream; he was indeed, outwardly civil to her, and might love her as much as could be expected, from those who divide their Affections with plurality of the fair Sex: This I know from undoubted Testimony, that at *St. Germain's*, she had not Interest with the King to remove a Servant. One Gentleman I particularly knew at that Court, the Queen hated, and during the King's Life, she watch'd all Opportunities to get him remov'd, but cou'd never effect it; this is no great Instance of the King's pliable and uxorious Temper; yet she allow'd this Gentleman a very handsome Pension to feed himself and his Family till she died, and then all her Charity went with her.

I have examin'd her nearest Friends and Acquaintance, and I cannot find that at *St. Germain's* she ever affected to govern her Husband, nor that he was so tractable in his Nature: No, the Queen lov'd him, but he was never govern'd by those that lov'd him, he was too good to suspect, and therefore he took Snakes into his Bosom, and Vipers into his Family.

To return, I must crave Leave to give one Instance of the Queen's impartial Tenderness for Protestants: She protected Dr. *Taylor*, a nonjuring Clergyman at *St. Germain's*, with her Friendship and full Exercise of his Re-

ligion in that Town, which is perhaps as bigotted as in any Place where, even the Inquisition reigns. Over this Town and single Parish, tho' as large very near as *Norwich*, or at least as populous, there slept a Pastor, who had taken his Religion upon Trust, and his Tythes and Revenues were as good as the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*. Thus, the more he eat, the more sanguine and persecuting was his Temper, for as his Sense gave Way to Luxury, Zeal took its Place. This Beast envied there the poor Protestants their Prayers, tho' he never understood his own: He took his Opportunity when the Queen was gone to *Chailot*, to perform her Devotions in a Convent there, to prevail upon the Commissary to Sentence Dr. *Taylor* to Banishment, with Orders to depart the Town in Twenty-four Hours. The Dr. indeed, implor'd the Protection of the Marquis *de Torcy*, and the Cardinal *de Noailles*, which they freely granted. The Queen was in the greatest Concern when she heard of this Violence, and came back, and gave such Reprimands to both the Dr's. Enemies, that no more was heard of that persecuting Spirit in her Life.

Surley, all these Instances may plead in the poor Lady's Behalf, who look'd upon all who suffer'd for her, as her Children, and fed 'em like a Pelican with her Blood. I should be very sorry that our Shoar shou'd turn all

Virtue

Virtue into Barbarity. Mr. *Craftsman*, and his Republican Party, seem to me to be jaundic'd by Prejudice, and tainted with ill Principles, or they wou'd not blast with Envy, the good Qualities they never design to imitate.

If we examine the Character of King *James*, the Parallel will not hold betwixt him and *Henry*, no more than it will with Queen *Margaret* and Queen *Mary*: *Henry's* Religion was perfectly Uniform, and his Life Innocent. King *James* indulg'd some Pleasures, he had better have let alone, *Henry* VIth had a real Incapacity of Mind; King *James* was far from labouring under that Burthen, he had a strong Head for Trade and Business; he wanted not a great many Virtues to render him an amiable, just and great Prince. Yet under such a Ministry nothing appear'd but a Concatenation of Blunders: He had the most unhappy Judgment in Men of any Prince of that Age; and therefore he was universally betray'd: Whereas his Queen was penetrating, and saw thro' *Sunderland* in a very short Time.

His Brother wou'd hardly have lov'd him so well if he had thought he had been a Fool, but every Man has his different Genius: King *Charles* with all his Wit had often Knaves near in his Bosom, and in his Cabinet; and if Fame is not a Liar, had some hanging about him,

him, when he clos'd his Eyes; and if People had not been very watchful, a Will might been trump'd up in Favour of the Duke of *Monmouth*. Such Traitors were some to their Country, who wou'd puzzle plain Titles in order to involve the Kingdom in civil Wars.

King *Charles* suffer'd more for his Brother than was consistent with his self preserving Notions. He sacrific'd freely to the Popish Plot; and the Duke was very much oblig'd to him that he stop'd at the Bill of Exclusion. At his Death he express'd a great deal of Sorrow, for having made his Brother travel so often, and yet considering the Necessity of the Times, his Conduct hardly wanted a Pardon: It was indeed surprizing, that two Brothers so different in their Tempers, cou'd so well agree together; This cou'd proceed only from the strongest Sense of Justice on both Sides.

King *James* when strip'd of the greatest Part of his evil Ministry, and his Government at once; had Opportunity to shew his melancholy Friends, his real Qualities, and one very good one he had becoming the greatest Prince in the Height of his Prosperity: If any Servant was really or fictitiously accus'd, as such Cases often came before him, he wou'd never give Way to discard that Servant without a Hearing; and in Case of his being acquitted, he had always a Gratuity for his Trouble: And thus Mr. *Heywood* kept him-
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self in Post to the King's Death, against the united Combinations of Priests and Favourites; and I am told *Heywood's* Joy cou'd not be greater than the Kings on such Occasions.

This very Conduct was ill observ'd in his publick Administration; such Witchcraft hangs about Princes who take Advice: I am very confident the *Stuarts* had been the greatest Family in the World, if they had always follow'd their own Judgments, and their own Inclinations.

To conclude this Prince's Character; if you see an Alderman of *London* grow rich, by Maxims of Frugality, and get a Plumb by Wisdom and steady Measures; such was the Duke of *York*, when a Subject and a Merchant, cou'd you fancy you see a Man acting all the Parts of a Heroe for his Country; such He was at *Solebay*. I hope it will not displease the impartial Reader to hear a short Account of his Conduct there, as it is taken from Sir *John Narborough's* own Journal, who was in the very Ship with the Duke of *York*, when Captain *Cox* was kill'd by his Side.

At Eight of the Clock, We in the Prince were warmly engag'd with the *Dutch* Admiral *De Ruyter* and his Seconds, and *Van Gant* and his Seconds. There were several *Dutch* Ships at once firing at us very briskly, and we at them, being about Musket-Shot Distance

Distance from each other, and quite calm, and the Water as smooth as possible might be (as the Saying is as smooth as a Milk Bowl) we being all alone, made it the warmer with us; none of our Squadron could get up with us for their Lives, they being so becalm'd. The *Dutch* finding us plying our Guns so fast durst not venture to board us, altho' they had so great Odds. His Royal Highness went fore and aft in the Ship, and chear'd up the Seamen to fight, which did encourage them much. The Duke thought himself never near enough to the Enemy, for he was ever calling to the Quarter Master who carried the Ship, to luffe her nearer, giving me Commands to forbear firing till we got close up with them. Between Nine and Ten of the Clock Sir *John Cox* was slain with a great Shot, being close by the Duke on the Poop. Several Gentleman and others were slain and wounded on the Poop and Quarter Deck on both Sides the Duke. Presently when Sir *John Cox* was slain, I commanded as Captain, observing his Royal Highness's Commands in working the Ship, striving to get the Wind of the Enemy. I do absolutely believe no Prince upon the whole Earth can compare with his Royal Highness in gallant Resolutions in fighting his Enemy, and with so great Conduct and Knowledge in Navigation, as never any General understood before him: He is bet-

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ter acquainted in the Seas, than many Masters which are now in his Fleet. He is General, Soldier, Pylot, Master, and Seaman. To say all, he is every thing that Man can be, and most pleasantest when the great Shot are thundring about his Ears, so far Sir *John Narborough*.

Surely this may prove that he was not so weak a Prince as *Henry VI*, he ventur'd his Person where *Lewis XIV* the Bully of *France* wou'd have shrunk in his Hofs.

When he came to engage with his own Subjects, his Spirit and Heart fail'd him; such Engagements were out of his Element, for I believe no Man ever lov'd his Country more.

As to this Lady the Queen, she had her Country only in Heaven, and she hastned her Passage thither by intemperate Zeal; she prejudic'd her Health, by an over nice Scruple, that it was her Duty rather to frequent the Parish Church, than her private Chapel. Upon an high Day, her Pores being open'd by an excessive Heat caus'd by the Crowd; she took in the cold Air in her Chariot upon the Terras of *St. Germain's*, and with that Air her Death. She left no Will behind her, and who was her Heir, let the *Craftsman* tell.

It was very ungenerous to treat a Lady in that Manner. Mr. *Craftsman* himself has had Strokes against his own Family given by an envious Enemy, and how he likes it, he best knows, by reflecting upon the Convulsions it

cast him into; and surely the Honour of an unfortunate Family may be as tender as his own. Indeed, she is dead, and gone where *the Wicked cease from troubling, and the Weary are at rest*; but if he will continue so ungenerous, as to disturb her Ashes, his Paper shall have no Rest; I shall shake his musty *English History*, till I make it sweet.

If he is so fond of a Common-wealth, let him begin with *Golden-Square*; let him form his Model, make his Ministry as publick Spirited as the *Venetian* Patriots, and his Parliament as free as their Senate; and let him be sure to keep the *Bakers* beyond *Holborn Bars*.

I say, if there is such a Family as the *Bakers* reduc'd to the meanest Poverty, and who wou'd be glad of the Crumbs under his Table, tho' they cannot get Possession there; it wou'd be cruel, for no other Reason, to publish to the World, without any Regard to Truth, that the *Bakers*, on the Womens Side are all Whores, and that the Men for several Generations have robb'd upon the Highway.

To apply another Instance to his Companion, who lends him Scandal against the *Stuarts*.

A certain Servant to a Banker, if I remember right, ran away with 20000 £ of the Dutcheſs of *Marlborough's* Money; he leapt into the *King's Bench*, from thence into the Sea,

Sea; step'd upon the Continent, and has been so modest, as not to be heard of since.

I say, it wou'd have been very brutal, to have continu'd to abuse her and all her Relations in Print, for no other Reason but because he had robb'd her and ran away with her Money. I speak this to one who was not deaf, when his Door was rapt at a Week together for Money, that was no more his than the 20000 *l.* was the Bankers.

I cannot say these are hopeful Preludes to Patriotism; I wou'd go 1500 Miles to see a Patriot, and that is out of the Dominions of *Great Britain*, tho' I question Mr. *Craftsman's* standing that Test.

If he had Power, that he wou'd make his own Party free, I do not Question; the rest of the Nation he clearly cuts off. These chosen Vessels without exprefs Revelation, use the rest who have as antient a Footing in the Country, like *Canaanites*, *Hivites* and *Je- busites*, to be expel'd from this Land of Liberty, and rooted out. I know *it* has been a very unfortunate Termination lately, and therefore Mr. *Craftsman* hates a Jacobite, who passes his Time in *England*, as uncomfortably as an old *Je- busite*. The Patriot hates him, because he has no Share in the Country where he lives, and where he was born.

I know very well I open'd to him all the Springs of Oppression; if he shut 'em up again,

gain, reserving only enough to undertake for the Benefit of Mr. *Franklyn*; the Nation is like to have very little Consolation from this new Grand Vizier when he takes his Post.

However, to shew I have no Malice against him, I promise, that if he will let the *Stuarts* alone with the antient Episcopacy, as it subsisted in those Reigns, I shall never stir my Pen against him more.

If he is afraid of being call'd, or thought a Jacobite, I will give him a Certificate under my Hand, that he is no more one now, than when he advis'd the cutting the Bishop of *Rochester's* Head off.

The World will judge my Provocations great enough to begin; yet to do him Justice, I congratulate him upon a great many Truths that have flow'd from his Pen, tho' they will make no Attonement for malicious Slanders, and so I leave him.

F I N I S.